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JPRS: 4847

7 August 1961

SELECTED TRANSLATIONS FROM "KOMMUNIST"

No. 6, 1961

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## FOREWORD

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JPRS: 4847

CSO: 1875-S

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[This report contains the translations of three articles, titles given below, published in Kommunist (The Communist), No 6, Moscow, April 1961. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.]

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## THE GREATNESS OF LENINIST IDEAS

/Following in the translation of the lead editorial in  
Kommunist, No 6, Moscow, April 1961, pp. 3-10./

The peoples of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries as well as all of progressive mankind are celebrating as a joyful holiday the 91st anniversary of the birthday for the teacher and leader of the world's workers, the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. And on this remarkable date our nation has come into a halo of glory--our nation for the first time in history has accomplished the first flight of a cosmic ship with the first cosmonaut-pilot, the Soviet citizen, Major Yu. A. Gagarin.

Time passes quickly. With unforeseen speed world history is advancing. Each year in all countries and in all continents many new events are occurring which catch the attention of millions. And all that is in fact great and progressive today, and all that furthers peace democracy and socialism is irrefutably linked with the name of Lenin who is the inspired thinker and revolutionary leader, and the fighter for the happiness of all workers and suppressed peoples of the world. The teachings of Lenin who saw into the very essence of our epoch disclosed the means for resolving the imminent tasks and gave his life to the solution of these tasks; he is the standard-bearer in the fight of the working class and the broadest masses.

Sometimes people who are generally well-disposed to the Soviet Union and to socialism ask: if nothing in the world is eternal and all is in flux as Marxian dialectics teaches, then is it possible to preserve Marxism-Leninism eternally? Really isn't it possible to create something more perfect than Marxism-Leninism?

The clear answer to this question was given by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev in a conversation with K. A. Abbas, the Indian writer, in 1960. Abbas published in India a booklet on a meeting with N. S. Khrushchev; this is a booklet which is full of friendly feeling for the Soviet Union. In the course of the conversation, as Abbas says, Comrade Khrushchev was given a question on whether he considers Marxism as the highest and final stage in the social sciences or on the other hand would admit that Marxism also may undergo changes, development and be transformed.

Comrade Khrushchev, as Abbas writes, answered him that Marxism is a developing system of ideas, that Karl Marx naturally could not foresee in every detail the process of socialist construction and then the building of a communist society. But he did show the basic direction

in the development of society according to the way of progress. Marx and Lenin not only proved that socialism will replace capitalism and that the class antagonisms in society will be replaced by a classless society, a society of free and equal workers, but they also pointed out the desired path to attaining this great goal through the winning of political power by the working class. The correctness of Marxist-Leninist teaching is supported by life.

But Marxism, no more than life, does not stand still. The Marxists have never thought of their teaching as an aggregate of fixed dogmas; rather they see in it a creative developing teaching which has been called upon on the basis of the discovered laws to provide the scientific answers to the fundamental questions of the modern age and to serve as the faithful and reliable leader for revolutionary activity and for the transformation of the old world and the creation of a new communist society. "Our theory is not dogma, but a guide line for action...There is no abstract truth, truth is always concrete"-- These theses have not been worn out; they will always and inflexibly be followed by the founders of Marxism!

The laws of social development which were discovered by Marx, Engels and Lenin can never become old. They may be made more exact, developed or concretized in one or another thesis of Marxist theory; they may be enriched on the basis of disclosing new experience through new and very important discoveries, as did V. I. Lenin for example in the era of imperialism. The general objective laws of social development, however, which concern the historical character of social-economic formations, the historically transitional nature of capitalism and its inexorable replacement by communism, the decisive role of the masses in history and the inevitability of social revolution--all of these, they cannot become out-dated and nothing can replace them.

It was namely Lenin after Marx and Engels who gave the great example of the creative understanding and development of Marxism. Our Communist Party which was fostered and trained by Lenin has always and is following the advise of its teacher and leader. The 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union], all of the activity of the Leninist Central Committee CPSU, and the other Marxist-Leninist parties and the conferences of the Communist and workers' parties provide living and convincing examples of the creative approach to the problems of today.

Lenin and Leninism were and remain the clearest, most penetrating, inspired and general expression<sup>and</sup> personification of our epoch, the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. Any person who is seriously and profoundly studying the fundamental world shaking problems of the modern age again and again return to Lenin. One returns of course not simply to the quotation from Lenin's works as imagine the ideologues of the bourgeoisie, but rather to his eternally alive teachings, to his ideas which have been tested in life itself, and to his dialectical method; this is the life-giving soul of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin appears before the whole world as a great thinker with his view into the future. In continuing and creatively developing the teachings of Marx, Lenin discovered the laws of imperialism which is decaying and dying capitalism. And really isn't the entire history of capitalism over the last 60 years with the two world wars which imperialism caused and the tremendous amount of victims and then the birth of fascism with its brutalities, mass graves, Auschwitzes, gas chambers, and the execution of millions of people--really are not all these and other fanaticism and butchery of imperialist reaction support for the main conclusions of Lenin that imperialism is decaying capitalism which has outlived its time?

Leaning on Marxism and on the laws of socialist revolution which Marx discovered, Lenin developed the theory of socialist revolution as applied to the era of imperialism with its extreme irregularity in economic and political development. And really now can anyone deny that this theory is supported by life and practice and that it has ideally armed the working class of a number of European and Asian countries which are completing the victorious socialist revolution or which are on the eve of future revolutions? Socialism which has conquered in our country and is developing successfully in the nations of people's democracy is the living incarnation of Leninism.

Lenin foresaw and foretold that the socialist dictatorship of the working class in one country would become in time an international force and would have decisive effect on the entire course of world events. And really hasn't this prediction of Lenin come true. One has only to look around in order to be convinced that all major events in the modern era can be correctly understood only by taking in account the ever growing influence of socialism on the course of history and only by taking into account that the world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of humanity.

We live in the era of the fall and failure of the world colonial system. It was namely Lenin who foretold and theoretically founded the inevitability of the national-liberation and anti-imperialist movement and its great future; he also founded the necessity of a close union between the socialist and anti-imperialist, national liberation revolutions and their inconquerable force. Who nowadays can deny that under the powerful influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution the world liberation movement has attained gigantic successes? Before our very eyes the colonial system of imperialism is falling apart, the face of Asia, Africa and Latin America is changing and many nations have already won political independence.

The peoples of all nations are conducting a persistent struggle against imperialist wars. The struggle for peace is the question of questions and the most burning problem of the modern era and which involves the life and historical fate of peoples. And in this struggle Lenin and Leninism are the holy banners of the peoples.

In all countries on the face of the earth the world workers and communist movement is growing and expanding. It lives and breathes

immortal ideas of Lenin. Our complex and stormy era poses many questions before peoples, before the working movement and before thinking people throughout the world. And, as practice shows, only creatively developing Marxism-Leninism and only the Communist parties which depend upon its teachings are in a position to give and do give the correct answers to the burning problems of the modern era.

In educating the man of the future communist society, our Party has before itself the great, fine and noble example of Lenin. Lenin is the symbol of all that is revolutionary advanced and the most just; he is the symbol of the conscience, honor and reason of our era.

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The Soviet people and our Party celebrate the birthday of Lenin in the light of the new outstanding successes in communist construction, in the development of productive forces, science, technology and culture, and in housing construction--in light of the powerful upsurge in the creative activity of the masses.

The most important thing in the creative activity of the Soviet people and the Communist Party at present is the struggle to fulfill the Seven-Year Plan on time for the Seven-Year Plan is the most important stage in the creation of the material-technical basis of communism. The struggle for fulfilling and over-fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan and at the given stage in the development of our country is the struggle for embodying Leninism in life. This plan is living Leninism translated into the language of practical activity for tens of millions of people who are the builders of communism.

As in the case of the tasks of the first year of the Seven-Year Plan, the tasks of the second year have been fulfilled and over-fulfilled. The volume of industrial production in 1960 grew in comparison with 1959 by almost 10%. As is well known, the growth of gross industrial production for the first two years of the Seven-Year Plan should have been 17%; in fact it reached 22.1%. This means that industrial production surpassed the planned tasks by 11.3 billion rubles in the new currency. The Soviet Union already in 1960 produced more than 65 million tons of steel, mined 106.5 million tons of iron ore, 148 million tons of oil, and generated 292 billion kw/hrs of electric power. This is the result of the increased activity of the workers, engineers and technicians, and the result of socialist competition and the movement of brigades and shockworkers of communist labor. This is also an indication of the enormous possibilities which the socialist economic system has within it.

From the viewpoint of the competition between the socialist and capitalist systems one must always have in mind the comparative rates of development. High rates of economic development is a law of socialism. In the last seven years the average annual increase in industrial production in the USSR equalled 11.1%, while in the most developed capitalist state, the USA, it was 2.5%. The bourgeois economists predict that

in 1961 the USA will not have an increase but a fall in industrial production by approximately 3.7%. And we are sure that in the USSR the year 1961 will be marked with a new significant growth in production. Industry is developing at a rapid rate in the other socialist countries as well. In the last three years (1958-1960) the volume of industrial production for all the socialist nations rose by approximately 53% with an average annual increase of 15.2%. All of this attests to the inevitability of the victory of socialism in the economic competition with capitalism--a victory which will have great influence on the fate of all mankind.

For the contemporary period in the development of our economy, it is characteristic that there will be an ever greater increase and growth in the future of consumer goods output. Comrade N. S. Khrushchev in noting the high rate of development for Soviet heavy industry and in particular metallurgy, said: "We obviously will not now follow of policy of developing ferrous metallurgy to the limit of its possibilities. Obviously we will divert a part of capital investment into agriculture and light industry. We cannot build communism only by offering machines, ferrous and non-ferrous metals. We must have it so that the people can purchase goods, dress well, have good housing and other material and cultural goods."

The principal development of heavy industry which is the leading and determining field of the entire national economy remains ahead in the general line of our economic development. The new feature here is that in having attained the present stage in the development of industry which produces the means of production and defense, the Soviet Union may ever more divert its personnel and materials to the development of light industry and agriculture in the aim of satisfying the growing material consumer demand. An increase of consumer well-being in the most basic fashion tells upon the growth of labor productivity, on the improvement of product quality and on the shortening of the time involved in the construction of communism in the USSR.

It is a secret to no one that the imperialists in carrying on the arms race have not given up and are not going to give up the intention of carrying out aggressive actions against the socialist countries. In doing this they are becoming fabulously wealthy on the arms race and are trying through the arms race to escape the industrial crisis. The enemy has and is forcing the socialist nations to spend more funds on defense so that socialism could not rapidly provide for an increase in the living standard for the population. Such are the ideas of the enemy. But the enemy has miscalculated. Now, says Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, "we have a powerful industry, and our armed forces have the most modern weapons. Why should we deny what a man might have without harming the further development of our socialist state?"

In the field of agriculture our country over the last seven years has had significant successes although the last two years were unfavorable as far as weather conditions were concerned. From 1953 to 1960, the land under cultivation for all agricultural crops rose by

almost 46 million hectares. Grain production increased by 3 billion puds. Milk and meat production were also up. However in a number of oblasts and Republics on the part of workers in Party and Soviet organizations, there was a weakening in the attention paid to questions of agriculture. This had serious negative consequences. The rates of development for agriculture have not kept up with the growth in demand by the consumers for the products.

The questions of agriculture were the subject of the January Plenum of the Central Committee CPSU 1961 and the regional conferences at which Comrade N. S. Khrushchev spoke. The work of the Plenum and regional conferences were conducted in the Leninist style with strong criticism of the shortcomings in agriculture as well as criticism directed at the workers who were responsible for these shortcomings. The Party organizations and all the workers of the village have conducted enormous organizational work in fulfilling the resolutions of the January Plenum of the Central Committee. The task consists of leaning more heavily on the masses in order to raise the level of agricultural management. There is no place in management posts for those who, instead of a selfless struggle for disclosing the still unused reserves and for high economic indexes in agriculture, spent their time with postscripts and humbug and fool the Party and state.

What must we do so that in no place and at no time will it be possible for such disgraceful happenings to take place; how can we increase the responsibility of all workers for the entrusted concern? Along with a strengthening of the control from the top one must also further have a general development and strengthening of control from below, that is, from the masses. From the all-seeing eye of the people it is impossible to conceal anything. Our people are politically and ideologically mature as never before. Its creative activity increases from day to day. Under the leadership of their Party the workers have and are working miracles. The Party and the Central Committee as Lenin always taught in every instance and in everything depend upon the masses, on their collective wisdom and experience and on their spontaneous activity. Lenin taught that "the mind of tens of millions of creators will create something which is immeasurably higher and the greatest and most inspired foresight" (Soch. [Works], Vol 26, p. 431).

The tested method for disclosing and eliminating shortcomings in the struggle against unhealthy phenomena and for the correct indoctrination of the cadres is Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism. This is one of the most remarkable methods for bringing about the active participation of the widest Party and non-Party masses in the control of the state, the socialist economy and the development of culture. It is essential that all of the Party organizations should encourage in every way possible professional and principled criticism and self-criticism regardless of person, rank or professional position.

V. I. Lenin taught the Party to look ahead in addition to the achievements and to fix our attention on seeing if we couldn't do even better in view of our social order, our possibilities, reserves and

the presence of such a fine people. The resolutions of the January Plenum of the Central Committee CPSU and the regional conferences have set the way for providing such a growth in agricultural production so that it will outstrip consumer demand and so that ultimately there would be an abundance of agricultural products. Without such an increase in agricultural production, communism will not be built. You can be sure that these forces and materials which at present have been brought into the movement will provide the opportunity for the nation to successfully solve this imminent task.

The people's well-being is increased on the basis of the growth in socialist production. In the current year the manual and white-collar workers of our country have moved over to a 7- or 6-hour working day. By the end of 1962 the 40-hour work week will be introduced in our country for manual and white-collar workers. As is well known the Party and state intend after 1964 to move gradually to a 6- and 5-hour day. In the nearest future our country which is building communism will have the shortest working day and the world's highest standard of living. This will be the greatest victory of Leninism. The influence of this victory on the entire world and on the consciousness of the workers in all nations will be colossal.

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The outstanding event of recent times and the most significant event in the international communist movement was the Conference of the Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow in November 1960. This was the most representative Conference in the history of the communist and workers movement. It was attended by the delegates from 31 communist and workers parties which represented the great army of 36 million communists. This fact alone has world-wide historical significance.

Not only the friends and allies of socialism and communism but also the imperialist bourgeois and the enemies of communism followed the course of the Conference closely. In spite of our enemy's predictions, as a result of the Conference the ranks of the communist and workers movement even more strengthened their solidarity as well as the lands of socialist cooperation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The second and most important result of this international Conference was that it provided the clear, deep, and scientifically based answers to the essential questions of the modern era and in doing so made a great contribution to the treasure-house of ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union which was created by Lenin, its Central Committee and Comrade N. S. Khrushchev made an invaluable contribution to the work of the November Conference in working out the problems which confront the communist movement. The Conference analyzed the prospects for the communist and workers movement

the national-liberation, anti-imperialist fight of the peoples against colonialism, and the prospects in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Resolution and Declaration to the peoples of the entire world which were passed by the Conference are very important political documents in our era. They are the continuation and further development of the ideas of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU, and the Declaration of the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties in 1957. Of enormous significance are the theses contained in the Resolution on the essence of the modern era, on the forms in the transition to socialism, on the prospects for the development of the world socialist system, on war and peace and on the national liberation revolutions.

V. I. Lenin saw the Great October Socialist Revolution as the beginning of a new era in world history. Far from everyone who has repeated this formula has given full thought to its contents. Thus characterizing the October Revolution, Lenin considered that it laid the beginning of the replacement of capitalism by the era of socialism. "The abolition of capitalism and its traces and the introduction of the bases for a communist order," he wrote, "form the contents of the new era in world history which is beginning now."

It was namely this Leninist definition of the era which received its further general development in the Declaration of the November Conference of the Representatives of the Communists and Workers Parties. It points out the main contents of our era, the basic activating forces of its development and it showed in what direction society is moving in our era and what is the internal connection between the socialist revolution and the national-liberation anti-imperialist struggle of peoples. Our era is one of the decline and downfall of imperialism, the era of the creation of socialism and communism on a world scale. The main distinctive feature of our times consists in the fact that the world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of human society. This situation has enormous significance for an understanding of life's problems in the modern era and the most crucial of them--the problem of war and peace.

While the Soviet Union was the sole socialist nation, the dictatorship of the proletariat could still not have a decisive influence on the fate of the world and thus prevent the second world war. Things are different now when the powerful world socialist system exists and is irresistably growing. Now when the relation of forces has basically altered in favor of socialism there is the possibility of averting a new war. The theses on the possibility of averting a new world war, on the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, and on the struggle of the socialist countries and all peace-loving peoples for general and complete disarmament and for general security establish the conviction in the widest masses of the victory of peace.

Of enormous significance are also the theses formulated in the Declaration of the Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties on

the means leading to the downfall of the colonial system and on the state of the national democracy.

K. Marx in the Paris Commune discovered the first form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. V. I. Lenin discovered in the Soviets the new form of the proletariat and socialist state. After the second world war new people have come to revolution. Depending upon their conditions and leaning upon their own traditions, they have created a new form of the proletarian dictatorship which is a people's democracy that preserves a parliament and in some countries a multi-party system. But now when the whole world has risen and is afire and when ever higher aspire the wills of the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the liberation from the yoke of imperialism and from colonialism in a number of countries can be achieved by a united national front with the aid of not only non-peaceful but also peaceful means of struggle. In a number of these nations there is still not even a working class and therefore it is not a question of the proletarian dictatorship. Nevertheless the world now stands at such a stage of development that the people are confronted with the question of which path will they take--the path of capitalism through which passed many of the peoples in Europe, America and a part of the Asian peoples, or through the non-capitalist path. Do the liberated peoples intend to put new fresh blood into the senile organism of capitalism as the gentlemen imperialists imagine? Some bourgeois ideologists admit that capitalism is becoming senile and that its organism is consumed with decay and that somewhere a cancerous tumor has appeared. But they intend to breathe into this organism the new forces of peoples who are throwing off the yoke of colonialism and they are striving to get the will of the liberation struggle which now overwhelming capitalism to enter into the bourgeois ranks so that due to this capitalism will extend its life for still another century. But this is a fallacious hope. It is an illusion and reactionary, for in the development of the world as a whole there has occurred a basic change from capitalism to socialism and the general conditions of the era cannot help but make an impression on the countries which are breaking out of the colonial chains. The world socialist system is becoming the decisive force in world development.

Under these conditions there arises the question: what political form is possible and necessary for the countries which have been freed from the colonial yoke so that it will provide for their development along the path of strengthening national independence, peace and social progress? This is one of the questions which has been presented by life but which did not confront Marx; nor did it confront Lenin in such a form although he did establish the possibility of a non-capitalist path of development for the under-developed countries. It was not a problem 10 years ago, but it has come up today and the correct interpretation to it which was given in the Declaration of the Moscow Conference assists the peoples to solve the great problems of independent national development and growth. As is stated in the Declaration

of the Conference, the political form for the progressive development of a nation which has been freed from colonial rule may become the state of a national democracy. This is a state of a broad national front which in its essence is in the first place anti-imperialist, and in the second, unites all of the national patriotic forces; and in the third provides for the active participation of the masses in the governing of the nation. The state of the national democracy has been called upon to aid the peoples go along a non-capitalist, progressive path.

The representatives of imperialist reaction and particularly in the USA would like to turn the words "communism" and "Leninism" into a bug-bear. Over a length of time they have succeeded in this in a number of countries. But life teaches people and the imperialists are receiving rebuffs and their due from the advanced honest peoples.

When the American imperialists were attempting to accuse Cuba of adhering to communism, the outstanding leader of the brave Cuban people, Fidel Castro, emphasized that when imperialism and reaction do not have any other arguments they attempt to overwhelm people with words and stick the label of communism to agrarian reform, to the nationalization of the monopolies, to the development of education, etc. What the devil, if this is communism, said Castro, then we agree with communism.

The answer of American imperialism to the great peaceful victory of the Soviet people in the cosmos was an invasion of Cuba. But the heroic Cuban people defeated the mercenary bands of interventionists. The warnings made by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries played their part and helped the Cuban patriots in their fight with the intervention. Yes, socialism is become the decisive force of historical development.

Our country is now moving toward the 22nd Party Congress. Each congress was a great event in the life of our Party and of the whole Soviet people and an important landmark in the history of socialism. And the 22nd Congress of the CPSU which will adopt a new program will be a great event in the life of the Party and people. There are no other parties in the world except the communist parties which could fulfill its program. Our Party has fulfilled its first and second programs-- the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism. Now before us is a new stage of development-- the stage of the extensive building of communism. The new program which will be passed at the 22nd Party Congress will be a lode star for other peoples. It will express the most advanced ideas and the most human strivings. It is the program for creating the basis of a communist society. The people understand the significance of this event and reply to the resolution of the January Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU through their heroic feats of labor.

## AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IN THE MODERN WORLD

[Following is the translation of an article by V. Korionov, in Kommunist, No 6, Moscow, April 1961, pp. 71-81.]

"The decay of capitalism from the position of the greatest force is occurring in the main country of modern imperialism--The United States of America."

(From the Declaration of the Conference of Representatives from Communist and Workers Parties, 1960.)

Let us begin with some admissions of this by the Americans themselves.

"The economic, political and social relations in the USA and the entire American way of life are a part of the social system of imperialism which has completed its historically rectifying cycle and is now on the way to fall," states the American sociologist Scott Nering. "Under the influence of historical forces, the USA passed through in four rapidly passing decades a cycle which contains within it upswing, stability and fall."

"Less than 15 years ago we were the most powerful nation in the world..." writes Cyrus Sulzberger in his book What's Wrong with American Foreign Policy. "But what's the situation today? Everywhere or almost everywhere our principles are undergoing a fiasco and we are in retreat....Today we as in a dark forest have lost the straight path and are raging at random."

Approximately the same mood is expressed in the work of Emmet John Hughes America Not Invincible. It opens with the following declaration: "Once again before us has arisen the necessity through the right words and abundant acts to give the answer to the question: can our nation being such as she is now with her structure, way of life and aspirations, win any test. Never before...has the problem of the very existence of America as a state and as the bearer of a defined ideology evinced such doubts."

Finally in the book which has just been published in the USA entitled The Necessity of Choice by Henry Kissinger, it states: "From the beginning of the 20th century and in the seventh decade America has reached the turning point in its relations with the rest of the world...We are no longer all-powerful. We are no longer invulnerable....

With another 15 years of the constant worsening of our position like those which we have experienced after the second world war, and America will retreat to a position of Fortress-America in the world in which we to a significant degree will have ceased to play an important role."

Before us we have the statements of people who occupy varying positions in the political life of modern America. One of them, Scott Nering, may be correctly related to the group of thinkers who are attempting from progressive positions to understand and explain the processes which are occurring in the life of the main nation of imperialism. On the other side there is the other, Henry Kissinger, a professor at Harvard University and advisor to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who expresses the views of the most extreme aggressive circles of the American financial oligarchy. Sulzberger is a leading political commentator of the New York Times, and Hughes is a former aid of Eisenhower and now the director of the foreign departments of the magazines Time and Life which are very close to the ruling hierarchy of the USA.

However, regardless of the differences in the positions and views of these people, we see that they all in attempting to define the present position of the USA in the world arena, come to almost identical conclusions. And of course this is not accidental. Their admissions express one of the most important facts of world history in the middle of the 20th century; that fact is the weakening of the position of this citadel of imperialism and the dethroning of the imperialist deity which was the subject of the prayers for decades of the reactionaries and reformists of all colors and tints who in one way or another labeled the 20th century the "American century."

Life again and again supports the great truth of the communists which has been pointed to more than once that the rise in American imperialism has such a temporary and transitional character as is the capitalist system itself temporary and transitional.

#### The Peak is Passed

The historical path of American imperialism serves as a convincing illustration of the Leninist thesis on the extreme unevenness in the development of capitalism in the era of imperialism. In his remarkable work Imperialism As the Highest Stage of Capitalism, V. I. Lenin wrote that "...in the United States the economic development over the last decade has gone even faster than in Germany and exactly due to this, the parasitic features of the most recent American capitalism have emerged particularly clearly."

Not only because of the suitable geographic and historical conditions but also at the price of the blood, sweat and tears of millions of people was there the rapid rise in North-American imperialism. Two factors here had particular significance. In the first place there was the unmerciful plundering of other nations and peoples. In the second place, the use in every way possible of the crises which arose as the result of wars and particularly the world wars in the territories of other lands, but did not touch the United States.

Even the representatives of the American bourgeoisie write on what an essential role was played by the plundering of other peoples in the rise of American imperialism. The American banker and journalist James Warburg in his book Turning Point for the World states: "The material flourishing of the Western World including the United States was created chiefly as a result of the development for the benefit of the West of those peoples who did not have enough knowledge or capital so that they could develop their countries for themselves." Of course it is not a matter that the people did not have enough knowledge but rather that the imperialist colonizers carried on a most cruel plundering of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It is not surprising that it is namely American imperialism which has become today the mainstay for the decaying colonial regime. The world exploiter of peoples does not want to surrender without a fight one of the most important sources of his riches (even according to the great under-estimated official data, the America corporations now control 2.5 times more direct foreign holdings than 10 years ago). Imperialism has taken on a police function, and has not shunned the support and use of such bandits and butchers as Mobutu, Tshobme and their ilk and sending aircraft carriers and cruisers with the marines to the shores of Indo-China.

The monopolists of the USA are the organizers and instigators of the bandit attack on the Cuban Republic. The aims are perfectly clear: the imperialist forces of the USA do not want to reconcile themselves to the fact that the Cuban people have thrown off the yoke of foreign exploiters, have started on the path on raising their economy and bettering their lives, and have become the masters of their own fate. The interventionists came to Cuba, as Fidel Castro explained, in order to take back the land which the revolution had given the peasantry and the workers from the cooperatives; in order to once again seize the people's factories, the people's sugar mills, and the people's mines; in order to take from the people the schools which the revolution had opened in all regions; in order to deprive the negro and negress of the feeling of worth which the revolution had returned to them; and in order to abolish the fatherland of the Cubans.

Now, before the protests and indignation of the entire progressive mankind, the official circles of the USA are pretending to be the guiltless lamb and are attempting to deny their part in the intervention against Cuba. However there are enough questions which come up: who trained and supplied and armed the bands of hirelings who invaded this country? It is clear enough. The training of the hirelings was conducted under the direction of the intelligence agencies of the USA and the Pentagon. They were supplied with American arms and supported with American dollars. The intervention was carried out from bases of the USA located in Florida and Louisiana, in Guatemala and other regions of the Caribbean basin. The attack was launched from American ships under the cover of American military ships and planes.

All of this tears aside once and for all the mask of peacefulness and humanity from the American imperialists who, in declaiming in words for the freedom of peoples, in fact are the stranglers of peoples, and their aspirations for freedom and independence. However today it is particularly evident that the policy of such a nature attests not only to the limitless cruelty of its instigators but also to the shaky foundation on which the edifice of imperialism (including American) has been built.

It is well known that the USA has become the economic and financial center of capitalism as a result chiefly of the self-interested use of the circumstances which were produced by the First World War. After the Second World War the United States of America assumed hegemony in the capitalist world. The American authors Victor Perlo and Carl Marsani in the book Dollars and the Problem of Disarmament which came out last year, noted correctly: "War has been the basic spark plug for the American economy over the last 50 years. The increase in the volume of industrial production since 1910 has seen four-fifths of its development in the period of the two world wars and the Korean War. The rates of increase in the volume of production in the war period have never been attained in peacetime." Is it surprising that the bosses of North-American concerns and trusts and especially those connected with arms production are adherents and instigators of military adventures and one mention of disarmament and the reduction of international tension throws them into a quiver?

At the end of the Second World War, American imperialism held such a position in the capitalist world as no other imperialist nation had succeeded in holding. German competition with Wall Street was ended. The main competitor on the Pacific Ocean, Japan, also admitted defeat. Great Britain although an ally of America emerged from the war with a broken back. As for France and other capitalist powers, they generally did not offer serious competition abroad.

Thus the USA became the main economic and political force of world capitalism. America's part in the production of industrial goods for the capitalist countries at the beginning of the '50s stood at nearly 54%, and in exports, about 1/3. American banks and corporations garnered more than 3/4 of the profits from the export of capital for all the countries of the capitalist world. American imperialism became the first violin in the world policy of the imperialist camp; the web of military blocs and bases created by the Pentagon has entangled the capitalist world hand and foot.

To the big-wigs of the American trusts it has seemed that God himself fore-ordained America to "rule the world." The possessors of safes which were bursting with gold considered themselves as rulers of the universe. Believing in the stability of America's monopoly of the atomic bomb, policies of Truman's sort hoped that this bomb "would be a cudgel for the Russians." In an atmosphere filled with the miasmata of theories of racial superiority and military hysteria, there were born such policies as "bargaining from a position of strength," and "brinkmanship."

The American money-bags also did not suspect on what shaky ground they had founded the rise of the USA and what enormous changes would have to be suffered by the position of the entire imperialist camp in the near future.

In an amazingly short historical period of time world capitalism has been deprived of enormous territories in Europe and Asia which hold 1/3 of humanity; here once and for all socialism has been victorious. The fall of the colonial system is being completed under the blows of the national-liberation movement; the majority of nations in Asia, the Near and Far East and Africa have won political independence. The position of imperialism is becoming ever more shaky in Latin America as well. Imperialism is also confronted with an acute crisis in its own metropolitan area where the organized workers movement is attacking it and where there is activity from the communist parties and other democratic forces which have been strengthened and tempered in the fight. Under these powerful blows the world capitalist system is headed for inevitable defeat.

Of course American imperialism is now all the same very strong. Although it will give up one position after the other and its specific weight in the economics of the capitalist world is decreasing, it continues to remain the main economic, political and military force of world imperialism and the strangler of the people's freedom. Giving a report at the meeting of the National Committee of the American Communist Party in January of this year, Comrade Gus Hall correctly pointed out: "There is the tentacle which threatens the people of the Congo in their drive for unification and at the same time impedes the liquidation of colonialism; there is the tentacle which gives military assistance and sets war afire in Laos or supports the colonial powers in their desperate attempts to hold on to their colonies; there are the tentacles which support dictators and in essence the whole system of discrimination against the negroes; there are the tentacles which are concealed behind privileges, the sweat system and high taxes; there are the tentacles which support the generals who are in favor of immediate war and the arms race--all of these tentacles, although they are felt in various levels of the people and in various parts of the world, in essence stem from one body, from American monopolistic capitalism."

American imperialism is the backbone of world capitalism. Even the most insignificant under-estimation of the aggressive role in American imperialism and its possibilities is fraught with serious dangers for the world. "The course of international events in recent years," emphasizes the Declaration of the Conference of the Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties, "has provided many proofs that American imperialism is the main support of world reaction, the international police force and the enemy of the peoples of the entire world."

At the same time it would also be incorrect to over-estimate the strength of American imperialism. Under the conditions when in the world arena the swing of forces from capitalism to socialism is becoming ever more perceptible, when the forces of peace outweigh the forces of war,

the over-estimation of the possibilities of American imperialism can cause harm to the fight against imperialism.

To correctly estimate the actual strength of American imperialism and its actual role in the modern world it is possible to do this only when one views it not in isolation as do its advocates but rather in the framework of the modern era where the basic feature consists in the transition from capitalism to socialism which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution. This is no longer the era of the bygone unlimited rule and omnipotence of capitalism, but the era of struggle between two opposite systems, the era of socialist and national-liberation revolutions, the era of the fall of imperialism, the liquidation of the colonial system, the transition to the way of socialism for all new peoples, and the creation of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale. The dominating role in international relations more and more is changing to the world socialist system.

The general crisis of capitalism has so deepened and intensified that the Moscow Conference of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties possessed the entire basis for declaring the beginning of a new stage in the development of this crisis. The United States has not remained out of it, but on the contrary, due to a number of reasons is experiencing the effect of this crisis more than the other imperialist states.

One of the basic features of the new stage of the general crisis in capitalism consists in the constant weakening of the position of imperialism in the economic competition vis-a-vis socialism. But since the hopes of the capitalist world for withstanding this competition are linked above all with the United States, it is natural that the lack of success for American capitalism is felt particularly strongly on the position and prestige of the main country of the capitalist world. It is generally realized that the remarkable successes of the Soviet Union in the leading fields of science and technology involved first of all in the conquering of the cosmos, have led to an unprecedented fall in the international authority namely of the United States of America.

The general crisis of capitalism could not but particularly strongly effect the United States because in this country after the war militarism has grown to an unprecedented scale. As a result, a large part of the economy and a large part of the work force in the USA is constantly employed in arms production. A growing part of the productive forces is used in the interests of a handful of war-industry magnates. The inevitable consequence of this is the exacerbation of all the contradictions in American imperialism.

In the modern world the position of imperialism has basically changed. And this is completely true for the main nation of imperialism. In the words of the General Secretary of the American Communist Party, Gus Hall, "American imperialism as a world system has reached its highest point in the development of its power and the distribution of its influence and has entered the first phase on the way to its demise."

## On the Way to Doom

Under the conditions when the determining factor in international development is becoming to an ever greater degree the world socialist system and the most acute contradictions touch the very bases of the capitalist order, then the possibilities of American imperialism to carry out its expansionist ideas are sharply curtailed.

The victory of socialism and the national liberation and workers movement has shattered the general strategic plan of the aggressive circles in the USA; it was a plan for establishing the world rule of American imperialism. The period when the Soviet Union eliminated the American monopoly on the atomic bomb and then once again convincingly demonstrating its superiority by being the first to have begun the conquest of the cosmos was the turning point. "The turning point at which our decline may be said to have begun," writes Lippman, "was 1949 when the Soviet Union not only ended our monopoly to nuclear weapons, but also showed the world that in spite of the military destruction, it had created an economy capable of the greatest achievement in the field of technology and production. The history of the '50s is the history of our inability to answer this challenge and even to understand it, our inability to work out a foreign policy which was adapted to the completely new relation of forces in the world and to the completely new situation."

The revolutionary liberation forces, among which a particularly large role has been played by the Chinese people, have defeated the attempts of the American imperialists to get a foothold in Asia and to turn the Pacific Ocean into "an American lake." The defeat of the Korean adventures of the USA was a new link in this chain.

Very recently American reaction confidently was declaring that the oceans will hopefully protect the Western Hemisphere from the "revolutionary infection." The groundlessness of such illusions are now evident to all. The revolution has stepped across the oceans and it has been victorious at the very gates of the USA in Cuba. Because of this the monopolies of the USA are attempting to get rid of the Cuban Republic at the hands of the hirelings which they have armed. They are afraid that Cuba will become an example for the other countries of Latin America.

However such attempts bespeak the lack of foresight on the part of the imperialist politicians and on their misunderstanding of the fact that they are not capable of stopping the process of the aspiring awakening of the peoples of Latin America. At the head of the forces which are attacking imperialism here are the communist parties which exist now without exception in all of the countries of Central and South America. The legend is being destroyed of "geographic fatalism" whose aim was to instill in the Latin American people the idea that they by the very nature of things were predestined to be eternally in a dependent position on the imperialism of the USA.

At the same time one can observe the growing of acute contradictions within the imperialist camp. The objective basis of this process

is to be found in the change in the relationship of forces between the imperialist powers in accordance with the law of unequal development for capitalism. In as much as this change is occurring to the detriment of the USA, one can observe a certain fall in the leading role of Washington in this camp. Although American imperialism continues to set the tone in the imperialist world, its position is weakening. Other imperialist powers are beginning to put the squeeze on their old partner.

The part of the USA in the industrial production of the capitalist countries has fallen to approximately 47%, and its specific weight in the output of steel to 42%. As the cruel fight boils behind the facade of "Atlantic friendship" the facts make it perfectly clear that the part of the USA in the exports of the capitalist countries now reaches only about 17%. The USA now exports 2.5 times less goods than do the Western European countries, and well one knows that after the war the situation was quite different: the exports of the USA exceeded the exports of these states taken all together.

There is very great significance in the fact that the nations which were defeated in the last world war are quickly restoring their strength. In viewing the Bonn militarists as a striking force in the fight with the socialist camp and with the workers movement in Europe, the ruling circles in the USA in every way possible have helped and continue to help the rearming of West German militarism. However one of the unavoidable consequences of this policy is the corresponding change in the relationship of forces within the Atlantic coalition. The West German military clique is trying ever more openly to seize the reins in its hands from NATO. One must be blind not to see what revanchist plans the Bonn militarists are concocting. In the bosom of the imperialist camp new and very acute conflicts and cataclysms are maturing.

The conclusion is obvious: the edifice of American hegemony in the capitalist world is going into decline.

#### In the Grips of Unsolved Contradictions

The weakening of the position of American imperialism is going on not only in the world arena. It is also taking place within the USA. The chief country of capitalism by its own example is clearly

demonstrating how far the decay of the capitalist economy has gone. The growth of state-monopoly capitalism has only strengthened the general instability of the American economy.

No other country of the capitalist world in the postwar years has experienced such frequent shocks as the United States. Crises, as is well known, were observed in this country in 1948-1949, in 1953-1954, and in 1958-1959. Particularly strong was the fall in production for the period of August 1957 to April 1958 when it reached 14.3%. Not having recovered from these blows, the USA from the middle of 1960 has been confronted with new shocks. The economic crises here are clearly getting more frequent, are becoming ever more serious and the unemployment accompanying them is increasing.

The rate of growth for production in the United States, regardless of the enormous increase in military spending, is the lowest of all the other capitalist states. Shortwindedness, flabbiness and slowness are the characteristic features of today's development in the American economy. Capitalism in the USA has made a unique record in the capitalist world for its inability to use the available productive forces. The under-employment of industry has become not only chronic but also ever increasing. This is evident from the example of the American steel casting industry which for a long time now has been working at about half or even less than half of its capacity.

The bosses of American industry are trying to find a way out of these difficulties by fostering the development of the military industry. The USA has now become the country with the most distorted militarized economy. According to the calculations of the Director of the Association for Research on Labor Problems, Robert Dan, the USA spends for the arms race about 4 million dollars per hour. Up to 80% of the federal budget for the USA goes for paying off the wars of the past, present and future. This unseen squandering of funds falls first of all on the shoulders of the working class and the laboring people of the country. The constantly growing taxes, the high prices and the absence of an effective system of social security and the necessities of life for the American people are an eloquent witness to this.

That the military machine has become a growth on the body of the American economy can be seen from the fact that only the assets and advantages of the military and air forces exceed the assets of such major corporations of the United States as "General Motors," American Telephone and Telegraph Company," "Standard Oil," General Electric," and "United States Steel Corporation" taken together. The temporary stimuli which are created by the increase in military expenditures can provide only a temporary effect, but this leads also to a restriction of the consumer goods market, to an increase of the astronomic national debt, to a one-sided, unhealthy expansion of the military fields of the economy, etc. In the final analysis all of this paves the way for new economic shocks and increases the instability of the economy.

At present the USA finds itself in the new period of an economic crisis. It began when unemployment was at the highest level of any time since the war. According to government data, as of February the number of completely unemployed exceeded 5.7 million persons (and taken together with the partially unemployed, 7.5 million). According to the data of the New York Times Magazine, 105 out of 150 main industrial centers of the USA are now officially classed as disaster areas, that is, in those where the unemployment has exceeded 6%. As for the coming months, the prospects are even dimmer; speaking in April at a press conference, the Secretary of Labor, Goldberg, expressed the danger that over the year the number of totally unemployed may exceed 8.5 million persons.

The present economic crisis broke out when the list of "ailing" branches of industry in the USA included such important branches as steel, coal, textiles, forestry, the production of non-ferrous metals and

others. It has been developing also in the period of the chronic crisis in agriculture which is continuing with unabated force.

The situation is aggravated by the acute financial crisis. One aspect of this is the great deficit in the monetary balance, the outflow of gold and the fall of the real dollar strength. As the French weekly Carrefour eloquently describes this aspect of the problem: "For 15 years the dollar has been king. It dictated the laws in all markets. It replaced gold. It was the object of general longing. Other countries were rich only in the degree to which they had dollars. No other currency was so sought after on the black market. This was an absolute monarchy. Today the situation of the king has been undermined. His wealth has been questioned. A strange doubt has been born: they are suspecting that his crown was false."

The turning of the world socialist system into a gigantic force, the continuing fall of the colonial system, the transformation of the economies of those nations which have been freed from the colonial yoke, the expansion of the economic ties between these nations and the states in the socialist camp, and finally the comparative strengthening of the economic power of the capitalist competitors of the USA are all witness to the fact that the conditions for American capital are becoming ever more unfavorable.

What has been said in no way means that the monopolistic capital of the USA has exhausted its possibilities. It is still very powerful, and the oligarchic upper group does not wish to give up the dreams about world domination. It is strengthening the pressure on the allies of the USA, it is invading their economy, it does not hesitate to buy out industrial enterprises and is intensifying capital investment abroad. The monopolies are doing everything possible through such means as the sweat system, cutting down wages, fluctuations, inflation, raising taxes and other measures to transfer the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working class and other strata of the working population of the USA.

And nevertheless it is obvious that all of these measures taken together are still not able to support the American economy at the former level.

For many decades the ideologists of imperialism and also the reformists and revisionists have been trying to get the masses to believe that whereas capitalism in other areas may experience difficulties, it is not true for the United States of America. American capitalism, they aver, itself is not only free from such disorders but is also capable of pulling the other capitalist states out of them. And now this makes it clear what is meant in the notion of the "particular character" and the "invulnerability" of American capitalism and its economy; the notion is groundless. The mask of prosperity has been ripped aside. The nation which epitomizes modern capitalism appears before the people as a concentration of all the plagues which history has described for this system.

All of this has exceptional significance for the political education of the masses in the capitalist nations and particularly for the USA. Millions of Americans cannot help but reflect that if such a nation

as the United States experiences the most severe economic disturbances that the problem is not one of simply miscalculations and mistakes of one or another government, but rather one of the incurable defects in the social system to which this nation belongs.

The more far-seeing representatives of "Big Business" and the ruling circles of the USA, evidently, understand the serious political consequences in such a situation. They are attempting to find the means by which they can prevent the unfavorable development of events. Some of them in studying the unpopularity of the Eisenhower administration with the masses, propose not to put forth representatives of large capital in the forefront of the new administration of the USA, as their participation too obviously discloses the class basis of the latter. Others call for more representatives from the intelligentsia and liberal circles in the government institutions. Still others propose even more actively to apply Keynesian methods in economic policy.

One cannot ignore these manoeuvres since they create a significant reserve for the ruling circles of the USA. However it is clear that they are in no condition to provide the solution for the problems which confront the nation.

All of the new levels of the American workers recognize that in order to get an increase in his position, and to force the financial oligarchy to make even a few concessions to the working people there must be a constant class struggle. The attempts of the capitalist monopolies in the USA at recoup the losses which they are having in the international arena through a subsequent attack on the working class and on the people's standard of living will strengthen such a mood in the masses.

Recent years are marked with such major outbursts of the American proletariat as the strike of the 500,000 workers in the steel industry, the successful strikes of the railroad workers on the Boston and Pennsylvania railroads, the strikes of the workers in the New York Port, etc. The continuation and intensification of the strikes is constantly growing. The demands of the negro people for their inherent rights are taking on ever greater scope. The main country of capitalism is absolutely faced with a new intensification of class contradictions.

#### What Further?

The deep crisis of American imperialism, its policies and ideology are evident to the whole world. As well it is evident to the world and to millions of Americans as was shown particularly in the results of last year's presidential elections. The basic political idea in the results of these elections boils down to the following: tens of millions of Americans through their votes expressed the hope that the Democratic government would find in itself the force to be done with the former course in foreign policy which had brought America to the brink of a new world war.

This voting showed that in the hearts of the American people there was alive the memory of the best pages in the history of the Democratic

Party and the nation as a whole which are linked with the name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. This memory is alive because Franklin Roosevelt understood the enormous significance for the USA and for the fates of the whole world <sup>which</sup> were involved in the normal relations between the USSR and the USA. And he considered that this was necessary not only in pre-election speeches but as well in practical policy. Life has convincingly shown that historical right was on his side. It is not difficult to imagine what would have happened to the world if under the conditions of the raging of Fascist aggression, those elements in the Republican Party had taken over in the USA which clearly argued against the recognition of the Soviet Union as well as against the entrance of the USA into the anti-Hitler coalition. It is clear that from this the forces of Fascist aggression would have won the issues of peace and the freedom of peoples including the freedom and security of the American people would have been lost.

It is namely because of this that the idea of Soviet-American cooperation has such exceptional significance for the issue of peace. And because of this the adherents of war detest it with an animal hate and go to any lengths to prevent its creation.

The history of American-Soviet relations is the history of a constant struggle between two tendencies: the tendency towards the normalization of these relations and the tendency to their intensification. However the hostile and aggressive policy in relation to the USSR is an adventurist and baseless policy. Over the 43 years of the existence of the Soviet Union the imperialist forces of America have tested it would seem every imaginable and unimaginable variation of anti-Soviet policy. There was the armed intervention, and the economic blockade, and "non-recognition," and "containment," and the "roll-back" and "balancing on the brink of war," etc., etc.

As is well known the Truman government advanced the slogan of the "containment" of communism; the Eisenhower government not only corrected the mistakes of his predecessor but boastingly proclaimed the even more adventurist slogan of "the roll-back" of communism and carried things as far as unprecedented acts of international banditism. Although such a policy was strengthened through the creation of a gigantic network of military bases and an unbelievable increase in the American war machine and supplemented by thermo-nuclear blackmail, it failed even more than the Truman policy.

And all of these history lessons evidently don't do anyone any good. We are hearing once again across the ocean the captains of the war industry, and the generals and the Black Hundred <sup>a pre-revolutionary, rightist and patriotic society in Russia</sup> Congressmen call for, in spite of reason, the bankrupt policy of "from a position of strength" vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. At the same time the orders are going out for strengthening the struggle against the liberation movement of peoples so that American imperialism is ever more actively performing the function of an international police force, and does not hesitate in this to indulge in the policy of the so-called "little wars."

The adherents of this course do not want to understand that it not only has no chance for success but also is fraught with lethal danger for the populace of the USA and that military technology and the world political situation are now such that any "little war" can cause a chain reaction in all parts of the world.

Recent events show, as is pointed out in the Declaration of the government of the USSR dealing with the armed intervention in Cuba, that the present government of the USA which depicted itself as the heir to the policy of F. Roosevelt in fact conducting the condemned reactionary imperialist policy of Dulles and Eisenhower. The sort of policy this is and where it leads to is in everyone's memory.

"Dulles and Eisenhower, as is well known, were attempting to build their foreign policy on the "position of strength" and on the principle of the "big stick", as N. S. Khrushchev emphasized, "but evidently no one dares assert that this policy brought laurels for their country. On the contrary, the actually thinking statesmen in the USA correctly point out that this was a policy of complete defeats and which was expensive for the country and for its international prestige.

"Such a policy is a product of the times which are already past. Now one must not rely upon the "stick" but lean on reason. Everyone knows that the Soviet Union also has a "big stick" but it decisively protests against a policy of threats and swinging the "stick"; rather it depends in its policy namely on reason is striving for agreement between the states in the interest of eliminating the threat of war and establishing peace." Experience, particularly the experience of recent years, states N. S. Khrushchev further, teaches that the major powers should avoid interfering in other's business, and attempts to play the role of the strangler of the freedom of other nations; rather they should concentrate their efforts on achieving a relaxation of international tension, and on an agreeable solution to the most important international problems.

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Let us give some results.

American imperialism clearly symbolizes the strength and weakness of modern imperialism. It is still in a position to head the international imperialist reaction and tinker with intrigues and to bring poverty and misery to the peoples who are aspiring to peace and freedom. But its possibilities are irrefutably narrowing. And as for all the rest of the imperialist world, it has contracted the incurable ailment of the general crisis. Imperialism in the USA cannot even retard let alone stop the regular course of historical development.

As a result of the titanic struggle of the revolutionary and progressive forces of the world, with the great Soviet Union in the vanguard, the countries of the world socialist system, and the international communist and workers movement are opening up before mankind prospects which preceding generations have not known. For the first time in history

the real possibility has arisen of averting a new world war, and in the future there is the possibility of excluding wars from the life of society. The conditions are being created so that in the most rapid historical time the disgraceful colonial system will be abolished once and for all. New and favorable prospects are opening up before the workers and democratic movements in the capitalist countries.

But the path to achieving these results is barred by the world imperialist reaction which is led by American imperialism. The peace-loving and progressive peoples at present have no more important and immediate task than restraining it. The foremost condition for successfully carrying this out is constant attentiveness and the fight against the underhanded plotting of the imperialist reaction. "To struggle for peace today," notes the Declaration of the Conference of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties, "means to maintain the greatest attentiveness and to ceaselessly expose the policy of imperialism, to vigilantly follow the intrigues and machinations of the warmongers, to raise the holy ire of peoples against those who support the path to war, to increase the organization of all peace-loving forces, to constantly strengthen the active participation of the masses in protecting the peace and to strengthen the cooperation with all of the states who are not interested in new wars."

The aggressive circles of the United States have tried everything in order to tie the peoples of the world to their will. But they have succeeded only in causing the indignation of the peoples which breaks out now in South Korea, Japan and Turkey and then in the countries of Western Europe or Latin America. The foreign policy of American imperialism is experiencing a sharp and deep crisis. It has wound up in a blind alley. And clearly by following the path of the former policy it is impossible to get out of this blind alley.

## THE CONSTANT GROWTH IN THE FORCES OF SOCIALISM

[Following is the translation of an article by the Institute for the Economy of the World Socialist System of the Academy of Science USSR, in Kommunist, No 6, Moscow, April 1961, pp. 91-99.]

The Conference of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties (November 1960), in bringing out the results of the outstanding achievements of the world socialist system in the period since the 1957 Conference of the Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties, noted the entrance of the socialist camp into a new stage in its development. This new stage is characterized by the decisive victories of socialism throughout the whole system and the further strengthening of the power, unity and cohesion of the forces of socialism and the accelerated movement of the socialist countries to the general goal of communism. The Soviet Union is successfully accomplishing the extensive construction of a communist society. The other countries are successfully laying the bases of socialism, and certain of them have already entered the period of constructing a developed socialist society. The enormous successes in the construction of socialism are clearly evident in the development and strengthening of the economic base of world socialism and in the increase of its influence on the fate of humanity. The course of social development supports the Leninist prediction that the main effect on the development of the world revolution is achieved by the socialist nations through their economic construction.

### The Growth of the Industrial Might of the World Socialist System

In the industrial development of the socialist countries over the last years there have been changes which have been accompanied by deep quantitative advances.

The socialist sector has become the dominating one in the industries of all the socialist states. In the Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia, North Korea and Mongolia, all industrial production comes from socialist enterprises. In Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania, the portion of the socialist sector comes close to 99%, while for gross industrial production in Hungary, it is 98%, 90% for East Germany and more than 80% for North Vietnam.

The state with unified socialist-type economic relations in industry opens the path for the realization of the economic laws of

socialism in this leading branch of the national economy. Socialist production relations have become a deciding force which provide for the constant growth and improvement of industrial production.

The growing and strengthening socialist sector serves as the firm base for the constant development of industry and provides for the expansion of reproduction on the basis of high and constant rates. High rates of industrial development are a general regular feature in the socialist method of production. This regular feature is observed with particular clarity in the development of socialist industry. Its average annual rates of growth over the past three years were more than 3.5 times in excess of the rates of growth for industrial production in the capitalist countries.

Average Annual Rates of Growth for Industrial Production  
In the Countries of Socialism and Capitalism, 1958-1960 (in %)

Socialist Countries	Rates	Capitalist Countries	Rates
For all countries	15.2	For all countries	4.2
including:		including	
USSR .....	10.4	USA .....	2.6
China .....	40.4	England .....	3.8
Poland .....	9.9	France .....	5.6
Czechoslovakia .....	11.3	West Germany .....	7.1
East Germany .....	10.4	Italy .....	10.0
Hungary .....	12.1	Belgium .....	1.5
Rumania .....	12.1	Austria .....	5.1
Bulgaria .....	15.7	Sweden .....	3.5
Albania .....	16.9	Norway .....	4.8
North Korea .....	35.4		
Mongolia .....	17.7		
North Vietnam .....	21.9		

A comparison of the average annual rates of growth for industrial production over the last three years (1958-1960) with a preceding period shows that they are increasing in the lands of socialism. In 1951-1957, the average annual rates of growth for industrial production were 12.9%, while in the last three years they have equalled 15.2%.

In 1960 the industrial production of the socialist camp rose by almost 7 times in comparison with the prewar period, while production in the capitalist countries rose by less than 2.5 times.

One of the most important factors in the complete victory of socialism in the framework of the whole world socialist system is the

growth of its economic power. With every year the specific weight of the world socialist system is increasing in world production. In 1960 its portion came close to 36%, and in a number of the most important types of industrial and agricultural products it was about half of the world production. In recent years there has been a significant increase in the portion for the countries of socialism in the world production of the most important types of industrial products. Thus, the portion of the socialist countries in world coal extraction (recalculated in hard coal) was 39.5% in 1957, and 49.8% in 1959; in the production of steel, 25.2% and 30.9% respectively; cast iron, 26.0% and 35.5%; electric power, 17.7% and 19.9%; cotton cloth, 28.4% and 35%, etc.

Socialist industrialization and the expansion and strengthening of economic cooperation and mutual assistance have provided for the successful development of the economy of the socialist countries. In the majority of these, industry has become the leading branch of the national economy. In the recent past only three states, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and East Germany were highly development industrial countries. As a result of the high rates of economic development, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and North Korea have become industrial-agrarian countries. The great nation of China is becoming an industrial-agrarian state. Industry is being created anew in Albania, Vietnam, and Mongolia. Now in the majority of the socialist countries the portion of industrial production comprises more than half of the production for the whole national economy. In 1957, the portion of industry in the aggregate product of industry and agriculture of the Chinese People's Republic equalled 46.9%, while in 1959 it increased to 67.6%; in North Korea, from 60% to 76%; in Albania, from 43.1% in 1957 to 60.9% in 1960; in Eastern Germany the specific weight of industry in 1959 was 86.8%, and in Czechoslovakia 82.8%, in Hungary and Bulgaria more than 70%. In the majority of the socialist countries the basic part of national income is created in industry: in Czechoslovakia, 69%; East Germany, 68%; Rumania, 58%; Hungary, 54.6%; and Poland 49.6%, etc.

There have been qualitative changes as well in the structure of industrial production. The primary development of production in the means of production in the socialist countries as well as specialization and cooperation in production within the camp of socialism are directed at better supplying the needs of each country in various forms of the most modern technology.

In 1960, in the majority of socialist countries, the portion of group "A" produced more than half of the gross industrial production, whereas a few years ago this group predominated in industrial production only in individual countries. [Group "A" probably refers to primary industries such as mining, etc.]

In the socialist nations in considering the concrete conditions in their development and on the basis of the international socialist division of labor, we are now in the process of creating the most rational and scientifically based structure for industry. For example, Poland and Hungary have created anew the machinery construction, ship-

building, and the automotive industries; in Rumania the production of petroleum equipment and the chemical industry; in Bulgaria, machinery construction and ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy; in East Germany, the branch of heavy machinery construction; in North Korea, the textile and foodstuffs industry, etc.

Along with the development of the old and newly created fields of industry there is also occurring a change in the proportion within the industry by the means of a planned setting of a defined relation in the rates of development for individual fields. Machinery building is developing at higher rates which provides for the rearming of all the branches of the national economy and for technological progress. Gross production in the machinery construction industry increased in 1960 in comparison with 1957 in the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Rumania and Bulgaria by 1.4-1.7 times. In comparison with 1950, production in machinery building increased in 1960 in Poland by 8.3 times, in Rumania by almost 6 times, and in Bulgaria by 6.8 times. In China, from 1950-1958, the production of machinery building rose by 41 times, and in North Korea from 1954-1959, by 13 times.

The solution to the main questions in technological progress and the increase in labor productivity are impossible without the rapid development of power. In 1960, production of electric power in the countries of the world socialist system rose more than 5.5 times in comparison with the prewar period, and reached more than 470 billion kw/hrs. In just the last three years its production has increased by approximately 47%.

Other fields of heavy industry are also developing rapidly such as ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, coal, oil, chemical, building materials and other industries.

Production of Certain of the Most Important Types of Products of Heavy Industry in the Socialist Camp (in mln. tons)

Types of Product	Prewar	1950	1957	1960 <sup>1</sup>	1960 in %
					of 1957
Electric Energy (in Bln. kw/hrs).....	84.9	145.6	321.4	471.1	146.6
Oil .....	38.4	44.0	112.8	167.4	148.4
Steel .....	25.3	35.9	72.6	105.1	144.9
Cement .....	14.5	20.5	52.7	87.2	164.7

<sup>1</sup> Preliminary data.

In recent years there has been a particularly successful development in the chemical industry which is a field that in the future will assume ever greater significance in the economies of all the socialist countries. In the USSR, East Germany and Czechoslovakia there has been an extensive development in the production of plastics, artificial and synthetic fibers, leather substitutes, etc. In the last three years, the production of the chemical industry has increased in the USSR by almost 41%, in Poland by almost 70%, in Hungary by 75%, in Rumania by 61%, in Bulgaria by two times, etc.

In the socialist states there has been a constant growth in the volume of production also in light and food-stuffs industries. Thus the production of cotton cloth in 1960 in comparison with 1950 rose in the USSR 1.6 times; in Poland, 2.9 times; Rumania 2.7 times, and in Bulgaria 2.3 times. The production of sugar in 1960 increased in comparison with 1950 in the USSR almost 2.6 times; Poland, 1.5 times; Rumania, 3.9 times; Bulgaria, 4.6 times, etc.

One of the regular features in the development of the socialist countries is the gradual elimination of the historically formed differences in the conditions of economic development in the socialist nations.

In recent years the nations of the socialist camp have significantly come closer together in such important indexes as the production of electric power per capita. In Bulgaria, for example, in the prewar period it was less than in Czechoslovakia by 6.8 times, but in 1959 by only 3.2 times. In comparison with East Germany it was less by 20.6 times in the prewar period, and in 1959, by 4.3 times. The per capita production of electric power in Rumania in the prewar period was 12 times less than for East Germany, and in 1959, by 5.8 times.

In the Declaration of the Conference of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers Parties it was pointed out that one of the main paths for the growth of industrial production and the use of all the internal possibilities of socialist economics is "the constant bettering of political and economic work, the gradual improvement of the methods for managing the national economy and a scientifically based socialist economy...."

In the countries of people's democracy over these years many enterprises have been built and the volume of production has grown greatly. As a result of this the management of industry has become more complex. In improving the forms and methods for managing industry and the entire national economy and in strengthening and improving socialist production relations, the Communist and workers parties and the governments of a number of states have reorganized the control of the national economy.

This reorganization is aimed at expanding the operating and economic independence of the enterprises and increasing the role of local organs in the control of industry; at improving the system for material personal interest of the workers in industrial enterprises; and attracting a wider circle of industrial workers to industry management.

Each country is perfecting the forms and methods for managing industry in accordance with its own concrete conditions. In Czechoslovakia, for example, while preserving the industrial field principle of management they united into large production-economic units those enterprises which were producing one type of product. Instead of 1417 enterprises they formed 383 production-economic units. The basic attention of the ministry has been concentrated on the perspective planning, on determining the direction of technological progress, coordinating the activity of the enterprises, etc. In East Germany in February 1958, they formed associations of people's enterprises (OIP), which direct the work of the enterprises in similar types of production or in subsequently connected fields of production. In Bulgaria, the branch principle of management has been replaced by the territorial approach. The 30 administrative-economic okrugs which have been set up have replaced the 20 former okrugs and 93 okolii. Changes in the management of industry have been carried out also in the other socialist countries.

The increase in the operating and economic independence of the enterprises expands their participation in the planning of industrial production and increases the possibilities for discovering additional internal reserves.

Thus, a qualitatively new feature in the development of the world socialist system is the fact that the system of socialism is a cooperation of independent states, the majority of which industry has become the leading field in the national economy, and the industry has been created by considering the conditions and possibilities of each country and the international socialist division of labor.

#### The Socialist Transformation and the Further Rise in Agriculture

One very important feature of the new stage in the development of the world socialist system is the successful resolution to one of the most difficult questions in socialist construction--the voluntary transition of the peasantry to the path of large socialist production.

The Leninist ideas on the socialist transformation of the village have received general recognition within the broadest levels of the peasantry. In the '50s there began in the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia the development of socialist production relations in the countryside. In 1957, the socialist sector of agriculture of East Germany, Hungary, and Mongolia reached a little more than 25%; in Czechoslovakia, 65%; Rumania, 51%, while in Vietnam it had just gotten started. In this time only in three nations of people's democracy had the socialist transformation of agriculture made significant advances. In China 96% was cooperatively worked, and in Bulgaria and North Korea, the socialist sector was 85% of the cultivated land.

By the beginning of 1961 production peasant cooperatives have been completed or are close to completion in China, Bulgaria, North Korea, East Germany, Mongolia, Albania, Hungary, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. In North Vietnam more than 4/5 of all the peasant farms

have entered production cooperatives. At present in the entire world socialist system the portion of the socialist sector comes to more than 9/10 of the general area of agricultural land.

As a result of the successful realization of the Leninist cooperative plan, socialist production relations have achieved victory not only in the city but in the countryside as well. This victory is clear proof of the indestructable solidarity in the fraternal alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the stable basis of the socialist order.

The Soviet Union as the first to accomplish the Leninist program for the socialist transformation of the countryside, has created the largest and diversified agriculture, and is capable of solving the task which the Party has placed before it--the constant increasing of production in agricultural products in order to satisfy the growing consumer and industrial demands.

In East Germany during the period 1955-1959, the gross production for the socialist sector of agriculture increased more than 2.5 times. In Hungary in 1958-1959, gross production for all of agriculture was 11-12% higher than the average level for 1955-1957. The increase in agricultural production in Czechoslovakia in 1960 was the highest in the postwar period and reached 7%. In North Korea the gross production for agriculture in the last four years rose by 1.5 times with the average annual rate for growth at 11%. A good harvest of food crops was gathered for 1960 in Vietnam.

The socialist transformation of agriculture and the rise in its productive forces is going on simultaneously with the expansion and strengthening of the material-technical base. Particularly serious qualitative and quantitative advances in the creation of the material-technical base for socialist agriculture have been achieved in the last three years. In the agriculture of the USSR in 1957, there were 1,635,000 tractors (computed per 15 hp.), and in 1960 there were 1,921,000; that is, the number of tractors increased by 33%. In the Chinese People's Republic the number of tractors rose since 1957 by almost 3.5 times. In Bulgaria the tractor pool for this time increased 1.5 times, and in Rumania by almost 1.5 times. Approximately the same high rates apply to tractors and other complex machines for the agriculture of all the socialist countries. As a whole over the last three years the tractor fleet (in 15 hp computations) has grown by almost 25% in the countries of socialism.

The strengthening of the material-technical bases in agriculture and increasing the personal interest in this of the wide peasant mass leads to an organizational and economic strengthening of the cooperatives. In recent years there has been a transition from the most simple forms of cooperatives with incomplete socialization of the basic means of production and with a distribution of kolkhoz income not only in accordance with labor but also according to the shares of property and land, to the cooperatives of the highest type with a more complete holding of the means of production and distribution of income according

to the quality and quantity of labor which the members of the cooperative have contributed to social production.

In certain People's Democracies they are consolidating the kolkhozes. In Bulgaria, instead of 3290 small cooperatives, they created 932 large-scale, multi-branch cooperatives. In the autumn of 1958, China consolidated her kolkhozes where from the 13,309 farms, 3843 were organized. In Hungary the average size of the cultivated area in the cooperatives increased from 265 hectares (1958) to 627 hectares (mid 1960). The cooperatives are being consolidated in Czechoslovakia, East Germany and a number of other nations. The consolidation of the kolkhozes will allow the more rational use of the land & modern technology, the more rapid introduction of specialization within the cooperative and the realization of complex mechanization for specialized areas of production.

The development of agriculture in the socialist nations is characterized also by the expansion of inter-cooperative production ties. By uniting the efforts and means of several cooperatives, it is possible to carry out work which is difficult even for the consolidated farms. The organization of inter-cooperative and state-cooperative enterprises permits more profitable construction and with less expenditures to raise and feed the cooperative's cattle, and to carry out the re-processing of agricultural products.

The communist and workers parties in the socialist countries devote enormous attention to the rise in agricultural production. In this they proceed from the view that it is impossible to built socialism and communism without a well developed agriculture which is capable of providing an abundance of products for the people. In recent years significantly greater means have been given to the development of agriculture including meliorative work and irrigation so as to guarantee large harvests under any climatic conditions. In Bulgaria the yearly increase in irrigated land reaches more than 20,000 hectares, and North Vietnam, in one year alone the irrigated areas was expanded by 250,000 hectares.

In the nations of the world socialist system in the last three years there has been an increase in the harvest yield and in the gross yield of agricultural products. They are adopting measures for expanding the planing of grain crops and for further increasing their productivity. A large role is being given to corn which has enormous significance particularly for the development of communal livestock raising. In the USSR, the area sown in corn rose more than 50% over 1958-1960. In Poland corn planting in 1960 increased by more than 3 times, and in Eastern Germany in 1960, 9% of the plowed land was under corn.

The development of economic cooperation between the socialist countries in the field of agricultural production with consideration given to the soil and climatical conditions of each country aids in the further rise of agriculture in each socialist country and for the world socialist system as a whole.

## The Constant Growth of the Worker's Welfare--a Law of Socialism

The constant growth of the welfare of the masses is a law of the socialist method of production. The economic development in all of the socialist nations convincingly proves the unbreakable link between the growth of material production and the increase in the populace's standard of living.

Proof of this can be seen first of all in the growth of the national income. In the last three years the national income of the USSR increased by 31%. There are high rates of growth in the national income in the other socialist countries as well. Thus, the volume of national income in 1958-1960 rose by 88% in North Korea, by 40% in Bulgaria, by 26% in Rumania, and by 16% in Poland.

One of the greatest victories of the workers under socialism is the providing of work for all workers. The multi-million army of manual and white collar workers is growing. In the Soviet Union the average annual work force in 1960 was 62 million persons, that is, almost 9 million more than in 1957. In the public sector of the national economy of Poland the number of the working force has exceeded 7 million persons. In Czechoslovakia the number of workers outside of agriculture at the end of 1960 was 4,830,000 persons, and in Rumania there are more than 3 million manual and white collar workers. There is a substantial increase in the number of the working class in those countries which in the past have lagged behind in industry such as the Mongolian People's Republic and North Vietnam. In all, in 1960, the number of manual and white collar workers in the world socialist system exceeded 135 million persons and has grown by 30 million since 1957.

Last year the Soviet Union completed the transition to a shortened 6- and 7-hour working day for the manual and white collar workers; as a result of this, the duration of the working week on an average is now 39.4 hours. The shortening of the working week is going on in a number of other socialist countries.

In constantly applying the Leninist principle of wages in accordance with the labor involved, the countries of the world socialist system are raising the workers' standard of living by the means of increasing the direct wages and through the growth of community services. In the Soviet Union the real incomes of the workers according to a calculation per worker in 1960 increased in comparison with 1959 by 5%. In Czechoslovakia the average monthly wage rose over the year by 3%, in Rumania by 9%, in Hungary by 10-11%, and in North Vietnam by 14%.

There is also an acceleration in the growth of social services in the socialist countries. In the last three years the sum of expenditures and benefits which the population of the USSR received from the public funds increased more than 20%, and in 1960 came to 24.5 billion rubles. For this same time in Rumania the state began to pay out for these ends 27% more than in 1957, and in North Korea 2.6 times more.

One of the indexes in the increase of the worker's standard of living is the increase in the volume and the structure changes in retail trade. In the last three years the general volume of retail trade in the Soviet Union increased by 26%, in Czechoslovakia by 15%, in East Germany by 28.4%, in Bulgaria by 47.2%, etc. As a whole for the socialist camp the volume of retail trade increased last year alone by approximately 11%.

In the countries of socialism there is a continual expansion in the assortment of goods available to the public and above all in consumer durable goods. In the Soviet Union in 1960, the volume of sales for home refrigerators increased in comparison with 1959 by 21%; washing machines by 25%, television sets by 32% and small cars by 43%. In 1957 in Hungary 5000 television sets were sold, and in 1960, 58,000. In East Germany up to 1960 the specific weight of industrial goods in retail trade had risen to 44.6%, and in Czechoslovakia up to 44.8%, of which 22.5% fell into the durable goods category.

For all of the socialist nations there are characteristic high rates in housing construction. In 1959-1960, in the cities and workers suburbs for the workers of the USSR there were built and occupied apartment houses with a total area of 165 million cubic meters or 4.6 million apartments, and in rural areas over these years more than 1.4 million homes were built. In Czechoslovakia over the 12 years of the people's rule, 535,000 apartments were built; in Hungary in 10 years there were 310,000 new apartments. In China for the period 1950-1958 more than 410 million cubic meters of living area was put into use in the cities. Extensive housing construction is going on in the other countries of socialism as well.

Socialism created the most favorable conditions for the ever fuller satisfaction of the rapidly growly demands of the masses in the fields of education, culture, science and art. "Formerly," said V. I. Lenin, "all of the human mind and all of its genius created only so as to give to some all the benefits of technology and culture while others were deprived of the most essential things--education and development. Now though, all of the miracles of technology and all the victories of culture are becoming the property of all the people and from now on the human mind and genius will never be turned into a means of repression or exploitation." (Soch. Works, Vol 26, p. 436.).

In recent years the socialist countries have attained enormous advances in the development of national education. The number of those studying in the USSR including all types of education comprises more than 52 million persons included in this are 36 million in the general education schools. In China in the various types of education there are about 300 million persons. In 1959-1960 the number studying in the general education schools exceeded 90 million persons and comprised 87% of the school age children. The Mongolian People's Republic which in the past was one of the most backward countries in Asia, is introducing an obligatory seven-year education.

For the 1960-1961 school year, the total number of students in the general education schools alone for the socialist countries was approximately 145 million persons.

In all of the socialist countries there has been formed and is now developing an army of a truly people's intelligentsia from the workers and peasants. In the total number of those annually finishing institutions of higher learning, the socialist nations already have moved ahead of the capitalist countries. The institutions of higher learning in the USSR turn out two times as many engineers as does the USA.

The successes in the field of raising the populace's standard of living are proof that the socialist system guarantees the constant improvement in the life of the working masses and provides them with the conditions for the general satisfaction of their growing material and spiritual needs.

The peoples of the socialist nations are aware than in strengthening the political and economic might of the world socialist system, they are likewise strengthening the influence of the socialist camp on the course of history of mankind and on the fate of the world. This in its turn gives birth to a high patriotic upsurge in the workers which finds its expression in socialist competition for fulfilling and overfulfilling the national economic plans.

In the movement for the title of collectivcs and shockworkers of communist labor in the beginning of 1961 there were participating about 500,000 brigades and up to 10 million workers in the city and villages. More than 1000 enterprises are competing for the title of enterprise of communist labor, and more than 200 have already won it.

In Czechoslovakia at the beginning of 1961, in the movement for the title of brigades of socialist labor, there were participating more than 35,000 brigades which had 340,000 workers; in Hungary there were 20,000 brigades of which 2,000 had already won this honored title ; in East Germany at the end of June 1960, there were 120,000 brigades with 1.5 million persons.

The time is at hand when in specific weight the socialist system will surpass the capitalist. The victory of the USSR in the economic competition with the USA and the victory of the entire socialist system over the capitalist system are major turning points in history and will have an even greater revolutionizing effect on the international workers movement. Through its examples, the system of socialism inspires the workers in capitalist nations, and to an enormous degree facilitates their struggle. The world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society.